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ONE YEAR AT WAR

EASTER and our first anniversary of war find our United States intently engaged. This first year of experiences cannot be said to be wholly encouraging, but since we entered the conflict, April 6, 1917, there has been no disposition to treat the job lightly. If we have not had a year of encouragement, the discouragements have served only to strengthen our resolutions. For the most part we have acted promptly. It was within a month after our entrance upon the war that the Secretary of the Treasury offered the first two billion dollars of the war loan at popular subscription. The President signed the Selective Military Conscription Bill, May 18, and on the fifth of the next month nearly ten million men registered for military service in the United States. Major General Pershing and his staff arrived in Paris, June 13, and two days later it was found that the subscriptions to the Liberty Loan had been largely oversubscribed. The President rejected the peace proposals of the Pope at Rome late in August. Notwithstanding the break in the Italian line, and the English failure at Cambrai; in spite of the fact that German submarines are sinking Allied ships faster than they can be built; in spite of the breakdown of Russian military effectiveness; in spite of much else we have consistently increased our efforts to raise an army of 2,300,000 with the result that we must now have approximately one-half million soldiers along our sector of the Western front. General Wood has returned from France asking that we raise an army of five million at once. Our second Liberty Loan of three billions of dollars has also been oversubscribed, and we are now launching a third for the same amount. There is no let up in our purpose to send an overwhelming force to France. Our shipbuilding activities are increasing by leaps and bounds to unprecedented proportions. The tremendous German offensive under way at this writing, however successful it may prove to be, will not deter the United States. The energies of our nation are increasingly concentrated upon winning this war.

The end of discouragements is not yet. It now looks as if the United States will have to assume the burden of this war. Since a year will pass before we can place an army adequate to our responsibilities before the German forces, we are confronted with the prospects of at least two more years of increasingly intensified effort. Within the last few months German behavior to the

East has discredited her peace proposals utterly. The German menace to democratic institutions is more convincingly before the world than ever. Public opinion of America is more unified and determined by the appearances of German success East and West. The conquering spirit of Germany is now seen to be a real challenge even to our "radicals." When in the sixteenth century Luther said defiantly at Worms, "Here I stand. I cannot otherwise, God help me. Amen!" he gave expression to a spirit now dominating the United States of America. The stars in their courses are fighting against the international outlaw and anarchist. How long the people of the Central Powers will support their ruling classes in their barefaced and self-confessed policies of aggression and conquest, we do not know. How strong the spirit of unprincipled piracy has become in the minds of the people of Germany as a result of four years of military aggression remains to be seen. Our feeling has been and is that since the claim that Germany is simply fighting in self-defense is no longer tenable the morale of the Central armies must become weaker and weaker. But at this writing there is little evidence of this along the Somme or in the words of the exultant Kaiser. Our days are heavy with unprecedented battles and casualties. But despite all these, our first anniversary of war finds us increasingly determined, financially, morally, and physically determined, to overcome the world's unmistakable foe.

But to say these things does not adequately express the collective judgment of America. Amid all the clash of arms we do not forget the chief aim of this war, to overcome "the waste of labor and the waste of life involved in nations maintaining great armies for the purpose of destroying each other." This is what General Sir William Robertson, recently Chief of Staff of the British army, calls "the disgrace of civilization." We of America do not forget that we are out to remove this "disgrace." The logical end of militarism is military absolutism, and it has become such in Germany. Tyranny is its watchword. And we are unalterably opposed to absolutism and tyranny. We are for a governed world. At the end of this our first year of war we are minded to remove the cancer of militarism that has made mad the ruling class of the German dynasty. One year of war makes it clearer to us than ever before that our children and our children's children shall be saved from miseries such as ours and that they shall

be free at last to think their thoughts, dream their dreams, and work out their destinies wholesomely and unafraid. Thus it is that the labor parties of the world, the seekers after a league of nations, the writers of the real books, even the chancellors as they get the time, are all learning and beginning to teach that we must abandon the position that public justice can be established by physical force. Sin Innocent III abolished the "Ordeal" in 1215, there has been a development, slow to be sure, of processes based upon facts, upon the truth, to the end that real justice may be achieved. We now know that the trial by battle must pass away. Consciously or unconsciously we are seeking as never before the methods that shall set up judicial inquiries in terms of evidence and law. We must remind ourselves of this in any attempt to picture the significance of this our first year of war.

THE HEART OF RUSSIA

MR. CHAMP CLARK, presenting to our House of Representatives Prof. Boris Bakhmeteff, the first Russian Ambassador to the United States of America from the Republic of Russia, June 23, 1917, said: "The Russian Revolution is the most momentous political movement since the French Revolution." The Speaker was well within the facts. The world is now wondering whether that revolution means weal or woe for the future Russia. On that occasion the Ambassador spoke with no little eloquence of the Russian Duma, at the feet of which the soldiers of the revolution deposed their banners, pledged their allegiance, and brought the revolution to a successful issue. He then went on to express his unquestioned hope in the principles of democracy, the constituent assembly, and the Russian people. He added:

With all emphasis may I state that Russia rejects any idea of a separate peace. . . . What Russia is aiming for is the establishment of a firm and lasting peace between democratic nations. The triumph of German autocracy will render such peace impossible. It would be the source of the greatest misery, and, besides that, be a threatening menace to Russia's freedom. . . . Russia will not fail to be a worthy partner in the "league of honor."

Under date of March 18, 1918, Mr. Bakhmeteff issues a statement in which he characterizes the Russian situation in these terms:

A sinister pact of submission has closed the circle of happenings that have laid Russia open to the aggressor.

He grants that the German terms threaten the very existence of an independent Russian organism; but he expresses his deep conviction that the people of Russia cannot accept the settlement of violence "brought forth by conquest, anarchy, and despair." His statement concludes with these words:

To this broad task of liberation, conceivable only with the co-operation and direct support of the Allies, to this achievement which should rally without difference of factions all those who strive toward the establishment of a politically united and economically independent Russian democracy, will the embassy in Washington continue to consecrate all its endeavor and effort, finding a source of inspiration and confidence in the noble and heartfelt attitude of sympathy and assistance which the Americans never ceased to manifest to Russia in the hours of her darkest trial.

Mr. Bakhmeteff does not speak for himself alone. He is expressing the views of a very important wing of Russian leadership. We do not know whether the Bolshevik government is to survive or not. We do know that it is preaching a doctrine of very great menace to the morale of the followers of the German military machine. We do not know whether Lenine is in the pay of Germany or not, but we do know from the actions of Germany in Russia the imperialistic quality of her ambitions. We do not know how long liberty will mean license to these new possessors of freedom; but we do know that the Russian people have passed through a blinding despotism and the horrors of Nihilism to a spirit of revolt, to a Duma, and to a revolution that successfully and completely ended three centuries of autocracy. We do not know whether or not the Russians will establish a successful republic, but we do know that is the one thing against which the German dynasty is set. We do not know whether or not the Imperial German armies are to occupy Petrograd and Moscow, but we do know that no autocracy can ever be permanently fastened upon the Russian people again. When Chancellor von Hertling declared, March 18, that "the point had been reached where 'yes' or 'no' had to be said, and, on March 3, peace was concluded at Brest-Litovsk," he told the truth, and gave his whole case away. It is not now necessary to prove that the Russian representatives at Brest-Litovsk refused to read the treaty they were obliged to sign. No agreement under duress can be enforced for long. We do not know the meaning of the ratification of this agreement March 16 by the assembly at Moscow. We do know that the original compact was forced, and we believe that it cannot long endure. The German Chancellor may deceive somebody in Germany when he says:

We have not for a moment contemplated, and do not contemplate, opposing the justified wishes and endeavor of Russia to be liberated. As I said on November 9, we desire for that sorely-tried land a speedy return to a peaceful and orderly state of affairs, and we deeply deplore the terrible conditions which have made their appearances in many places.

But he cannot deceive by such language the intelligence of Russia. Germany seems to have played the part of a good uncle to Courland with no little power, and the German Chancellor is "thankful and joyful" that this new what-shall-we-call-it is to "lean on the